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Pieces for *biwa* in calendrically correct tunings, from a manuscript in the Heian Museum, Kyōto.

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Chinese sources of the Tang Dynasty refer to the practice of transposing ritual music to different keys according to a calendrical cycle, a different key being appropriate to each month of the year. In 12th-century Japan, Fujiwara no Moronaga set out in detail the system of transpositions, but did not himself adopt the calendrical system in his notations of the *Tōgaku* ('Tang music') repertory. A hitherto undescribed MS, from the *Heian Hakubutsukan* (Kyōto), dated 1386, includes tunings and five Tōgaku pieces for lute, transposed as appropriate to the first, eighth and fourth months. The discovery of this item sheds new light on the theory, and possibly on the practice, of Tōgaku in the 14th century, at the court of the Northern Dynasty.

The manuscript known as the *Kikutei-ke monjo* – a scroll assembled from some 17 sheets – was purchased by the Heian Museum in the month of April of the 45th year of Shōwa (1970). The Kikutei-family is stated to have taken its name from the fondness of Imadegawa Kanesue 今出川兼季 for chrysanthemums. The Imadegawa-family itself is a branch of the Saionji-family 西園寺家, known for its profound musical interests, and for its interest in *biwa*-performance and repertory in particular. The Saionji-family (founded by the third son of Sanjō Kimizane 三条公實, Saionji Michisue 西園寺通季, who died in 1128) is a distinguished branch of the Fujiwara-clan. It was Saionji Saneuji 西園寺實氏 who built the residence in Imadegawa (Kyōto) and founded the Imadegawa-ke. Imadegawa Kanesue (1281–1339), fourth son of Saionji Sanekane 實兼, in his turn founded the Kikutei-ke. (This statement follows the summary family-history given in *Nihon rekishi daijiten* 1958: 72. In *Seishi kakei daijiten* 1934-6: 588, 2431, Kanesue is shown as third son, as also in *Nihon keifu sōran* 1936: 65. This last also shows a different line of descent for the Saionji-family itself, with Michisue displaced from the position of founder.) Through their Saionji and Imadegawa forebears, this last family inherited many important *Gagaku*-manuscripts, now belonging to the collections of *Kyōto Daigaku Fuzoku Toshokan* and other major libraries.

The musical topics with which successive sheets of the *Kikutei-ke monjo* are concerned are various; and it appears that these were items, recorded on

single sheets (or occasionally on two or three sheets) preserved in the family, and assembled in approximately chronological sequence at a later date. The backing paper (*ura-uchi* 裏打) is of the Edo-period, and this presumably indicates the date of final assembly to form the present scroll. A complete description either of the physical composition of this manuscript or of its contents will not be undertaken on this occasion; but because of the association of certain items with the *Jimyō-in tō* 持明院統 a brief description is offered. This branch of the Fujiwara clan was founded in 1122 (Hōan 保安 3) by Motoyori 基頼, and this was the line of the Northern Imperial House. (*Nihon keifu sōran* 1936: 72, again disagrees with *Nihon rekishi daijiten* 1958: 40.)

The paper is *kōzogami* 楮紙 of an average sheet-width of 30 cm and an average length of c.42 cm. The contents may be briefly itemized as follows.

(1) A first sheet, very difficult to read,[1] relating to Court musical performances. (Length, in cm, of sheet 1: 44.5)

(2) A sequence of tunings for lute (*biwa*) appropriate (according to Chinese musical theory, as restated in the Tang period) for the First, the Eighth, and the Fourth Months, together with five items from the *Tōgaku* and *Komagaku* repertories: three in the tuning for the First Month, and one each in those for the Eighth and Fourth Months. (Length, in cm, of sheets 2, 50.0; 3, 48.8; 4, 48.1)

(3) Two sheets concerning the history, constitution (in terms of Sections – *jō* 帖), and performance, of two *Tōgaku/Bugaku* pieces: *Keitoku-mai* 七德舞 (otherwise 秦王破陣樂 *Shinnō hajin-raku*), and *Sanju-hajin-raku* 散手破陣樂. (Length, in cm, of sheets 5, 33.2; 6, 46.1)

(4) A sequence of brief notes on musical topics, along the upper edge of the sheet, followed by an important list headed: 'The rise of the *biwa*-master tradition' 琵琶師範之起. The list begins with 'The Prime Minister, Myōon-in' 妙音院相國 (that is: Fujiwara no Moronaga, editor of *Sango-yōroku* – see later), followed by Takamichi *Ason* 孝道朝臣 (that is: Fujiwara no Takamichi, whose signature and *kaō* authenticate the copy of the *Sango-yōroku* in *Kunaichō Shoryōbu*, dated in the third year of Karyaku (1328) – a manuscript that came to the Palace Library from the Kikutei-family). There follows a list of emperors who were *biwa*-masters – from the 89th to the 100th – including two of the Northern Dynasty:

Go-Fukakusa 後深草 (89th Tennō) (1246–59)
Fushimi 伏見 (92th Tennō) (1287–98)
Go-Fushimi 後伏見 (93rd Tennō) (1298–1301)
Kōgon 光嚴 (Northern) (1331–33)
Sukō 崇光 (Northern) (1348–51)

A new entry for the Ōei *nengō* 應永 (1394–1427) associates Go-Komatsu Tennō 後小松天皇 with *fue* and *biwa*, adding a note that *his* Teacher was the Lord Sadaijin Kinyuki 左大臣公行公, at the time when he was Naidaijin 内大臣. This is a reference to Imadegawa Kinyuki, Naidaijin in 1402,

[1] This sheet appears to be numbered 'two' (二) but was the first sheet seen.

and Udaijin in 1403, who became Sadaijin in 1411. Finally, an entry for the year Tenshō 天正18 (1590 – the reign of Go-Yōzei Tennō 後陽成天皇) 12th month, 19th day, records that the Tennō's *biwa*-master was the then Udaijin, at that time in his 52nd year. The officer in question was Imadegawa Harusue 今出川晴季 who became Udaijin in 1585. (Length, in cm, of sheets 7: 46.2; 8: 44.6)

(5) An extended version of the *Ryō-ō Story* 陵王古事, including reference to the year 749, and a reference to performance of the *Modal Prelude* 調子 for the mode-key *Sada-chō* 沙陀調 when the dancers enter. According to the colophon, this was written in Kambun 寛文 9 (1969). The text is referred to as a *mai-fu* 舞譜, but in a strict technical sense it is not a 'dance-score' as such. (Length, in cm, of sheets 9: 36.5; 10: 37.1)

(6) A list of dates, mostly of performances in the Palace, together with the names of those who performed on various instruments, between 1299 and 1369, continued on the inverse. (Length, in cm, of sheets 11: 42.8; 12: 10.2; 13: 41.6)

(7) A list of titles of *Tōgaku*-pieces to be played at Masses for the Dead, under the heading 'Catalogue of the Ten Kinds of Music for Memorial Services' *Jisshu kuyō-gaku moku[roku]*, dated Bunji 4 文治四年 (1188), together with lists of instruments and performers participating in the ritual (on the inverse), and of pieces in several modes for the *Go sembō-kō* 御懺法講 ceremony.[2] (Length, in cm, of sheets 14: 48.4; 15: 44.6)

(8) Quotations from Chinese sources on the origin, structure, etc., of the *biwa/piba*. (Length, in cm, of sheet 16: 39.8)

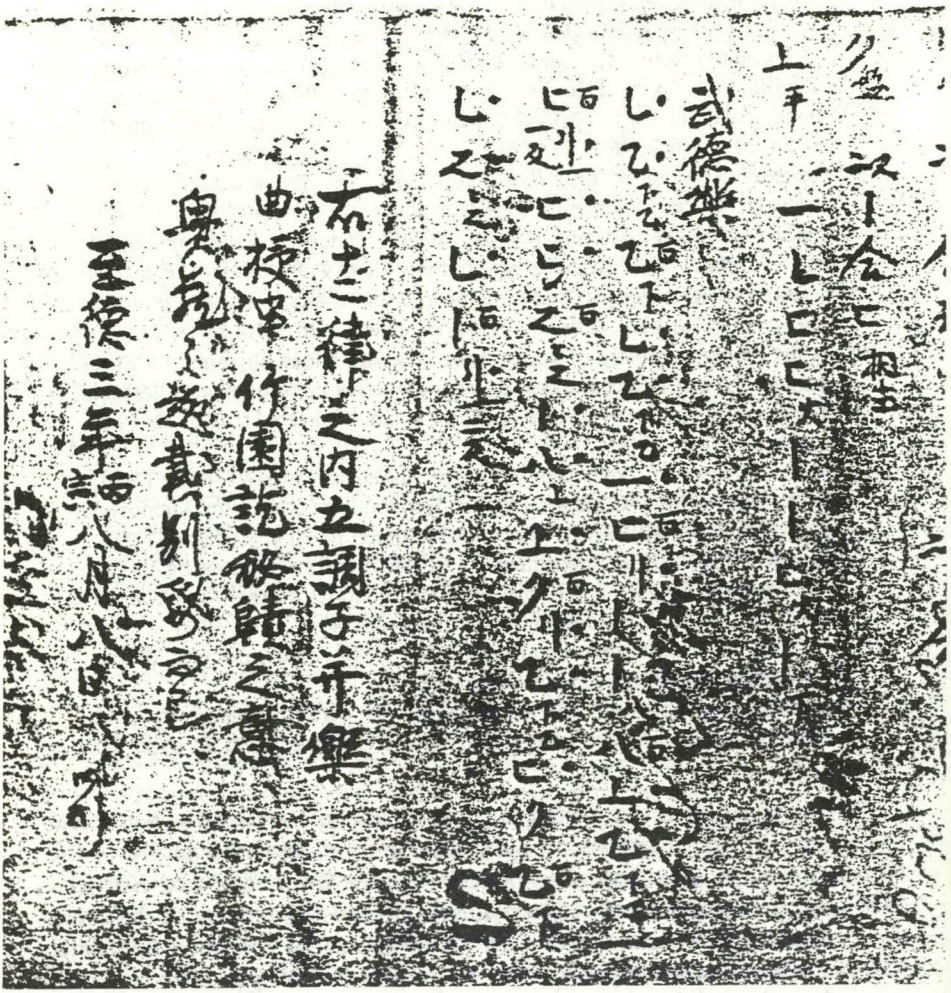
(9) Instructional notes on the performance of certain *Komagaku*- and *Tōgaku*-pieces, on upper margin and inverse. (Length, in cm, of sheet 17: 43.1)

This sequence of unconnected musical documents is of general musical importance in that it reflects, in part, something of the musical life of the Northern Court, recording reign-periods such as *Ō-an* 應安 and *Kōryaku* 康曆 from the 60-odd years of that dynasty. The most significant of the documents is surely the second item with its all-important colophon and date: *Shitoku sannen* 至德三年 (1386). Our reading of the colophon has benefited from those of Professor Mabuchi Usaburō of Ōsaka Kyōiku University, Professor Mitani Yōko of Sagami Women's University, Professor Herbert Franke, President of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Emeritus Professor of Chinese of the Institut für Ostasienkunde, Sinologie, in the Universität München, and lastly and most importantly by the reading of Professor Fujimoto Kōichi of the Heian Museum (Plate 1).

We transcribe as follows:

右十二律之内五調子并樂曲
授申竹園訖秘蹟之意
奥藏之趣載別紙而已
至德三年丙寅八月八日御判

[2] A date preceding the heading: *Go sembō-kō* appears to read: *Ōei* 16 *nen* 5 *gatsu* 6 *hi yori* 應永十六年五月六日ヨリ, namely: 1409, Fifth Month, Sixth Day.



1 Colophon to the *biwa*-pieces in the *Kikutei-ke monjo* (four columns, reading from the left, transcribed and translated on p. 193); 'Martial Virtue' *Butokuraku* (four columns); tuning-testing piece and conclusion of tuning-instructions for the Fourth Month. (Photograph by Professor Mabuchi Usaburō)

We translate:

'The teaching of five modes, from among the twelve pitches, together with the [five] musical pieces [belonging to these modes] – shown to the right – to Takezono[3] has been completed.

The profound intention and innermost, cherished meaning [thereof], are recorded on another paper. That is all.

Shitoku Third Year, Hinoe-tora [the third year of the cycle that began in 1384, namely, 1386], eighth month, eighth day.'

The last lexigraph of the colophon is surely *han* 判. The preceding lexigraph is abbreviated *go* 御. The implication is: that the three sheets of tunings, tunes, and colophon, are a *copy* of an original document. The honorific *go* may be of special significance.

Although Fujiwara no Moronaga set out, in the late 12th-century *Sango-yōroku* (*maki* 1),[4] the tunings for *biwa* to be used in each month of the year, so that items played in the appropriate *chōshi* during a given month will all end on the pitch (律) of that month, he made no attempt to promote the specified monthly-tunings in his treatment of the vast body of the *Tōgaku*-repertory. From his exposition, it is plain, however, that for some years at least (and possibly for a century or more after the definitive importation of that repertory, in its definitive condition, on the return of the Mission to Tang in 841), the Court musicians, and other performers of *Tōgaku*, had attempted to observe what was believed to be the practice of the Tang Court in changing the tunings of the stringed instruments each month. In theory, the pitch to which stringed instruments were to be tuned was to be changed from month to month, so that a theoretical harmony might be preserved between the finals of the various modes and keys, in which music was played, and the cycle of the months.

The ancient Chinese practice of changing the pitch of the final note (by changing the key) of hymns to clan-ancestors, and hymns of the Confucian ritual, is first described in a famous (and garbled) passage from the *Li Ji* 禮記, and the practice was surely always strictly confined to the performance of this ritual *Yayue/Gagaku*. A passage in the first of the *Yayue*-chapters of the *Tang Huiyao* 唐會要 (j. 32) with which Japanese scholar-musicians were certainly familiar, since it is quoted from, in prefaces to the *Tōgaku*-piece: *Gyokuju gotei-ka* 玉樹後庭華, shows that the Taizong Emperor's Court was interested in resonances between music and society, and in the importance of maintaining the canonical correlations between mode-keys and season. The discussion of the piece *Gyokuju gotei-ka* in the *Tang Huiyao* is indeed followed by a restatement of the appropriate pitches for music in particular months; but it is certain, from the Chinese text, that this statement referred only to the performance of *Yayue*, and not to the performance of items from

[3] *Either* an alias for a personage of importance, *or*, read as *Chikuen*, a member of the Imperial Family. Professor Mabuchi draws our attention to the use of this term for royal princes in *Koji-ruien*, *Saijibu* 1981: 1282, as first suggested by Professor Franke.

[4] Catalogue of *Kunaichō Shoryōbu* (Ongaku: 325; Gagaku: 756, 12, 515–87) (copy of 1328).

the *Yanyue* 燕樂 repertory – the 'Banquet music' – almost the only music received from the Tang Court. It seems to have been the case, however, that Japanese musicians regarded the music of Chinese Court-Entertainments as *Yayue/Gagaku* – the term properly reserved for ritual music for Confucian and ancestral rites – and that, for a certain period of time, they strictly applied to the performance of this music the rules by which month and pitch were correlated.

The *Fushimi-no-miya bon biwa-fu* (Wolpert 1977) provided musicians of the Heian Court, from the mid-9th century onwards, with tunings for 27 of the 28 mode-keys of Tang secular music – four diatonic modes, each in seven keys – so that all the information required for ritual transposition was to hand. Furthermore, in the first scroll of his *Sango-yōroku*, Fujiwara no Moronaga sets out in detail, in terms of absolute pitches, as well as in terms of flute-pitches from named holes on the flute, and lute-pitches at named frets, tunings of the four strings of the *biwa* for every month of the year. However, Moronaga went on to revise the tuning-system and greatly to reduce the total number of tunings to be used for the entire *Tōgaku*-repertory (Markham and Wolpert in prep.). It is certain that, for Moronaga, engaged in editing *Tōgaku*-manuscripts for stringed instruments in the last quarter of the 12th century, variable correlation of tuning with month was no longer regarded as a practical possibility. It would still be possible, of course, to choose pieces in an appropriate mode-key, ending on the final note appropriate to the month; but it would not, in future, be possible to carry out the range of transpositions once theoretically desirable, and entirely practicable for instruments other than stringed instruments. As revised by Moronaga, 11 mode-keys only were to be used, corresponding originally to Western Church-Mixolydian, -Dorian, and -Aeolian (Glarean) modes, each in two or three keys. For reasons not as yet understood, however, Moronaga chose to undertake a modal transposition of the Mixolydian string-parts from the Mixolydian mode to the Lydian or Ionian mode. In so doing he at times ignored statements regarding the modality of a piece, made in Chinese sources.

What makes the notations in the *Kikutei-ke monjo* of such interest and importance is: that although written down more than two centuries after the time of Moronaga, the five items – four from the *Tōgaku*-repertory, one from the *Komagaku*-repertory – are all notated in tablature in tunings such that the pitch of the final note is calendrically correct. The pitch for the First Month (正月) was the Chinese absolute-pitch *taicou/taizoku* 太簇. With D as fundamental (*Huangzhong/Kōshō* 黃鐘), this equates with E (see later), and the finals of the three items to be played in the First Month are all E: (a) 'The Five Constant Virtues: *Quick' Goshōraku no kyū* 五常樂急; (b) 'Peace: *Quick' Taiheiraku no kyū* 太平樂急; (c) 'August Benevolence: *Quick' Ōnin no kyū* 皇仁急. That it is the *final*, and not the *mode*, that determines the appropriateness of the particular version of a piece to the month, is evident from the differing modalities of the three pieces: (a) is in *Hyōjō* 平調 (Church-

Dorian on E) with minor third and flattened seventh); (b) is in *Taishiki-chō* 太食調 (Church-Mixolydian on E) with major third and with flattened seventh (save at two points: D♯ in the transcription in staff-notation, p. 204); (c) is in *Koma-Ichikotsu-chō* 高麗壹越調 (hexatonic Church-Ionian) with sharpened third and sharpened seventh, but lacking the fourth. Thus the tuning for the First Month provides for no fewer than three out of the total five *chōshi*, mentioned in the colophon. The other two tunings, for the Eighth and Fourth Months, are each exemplified by a single piece in a single *chōshi*.

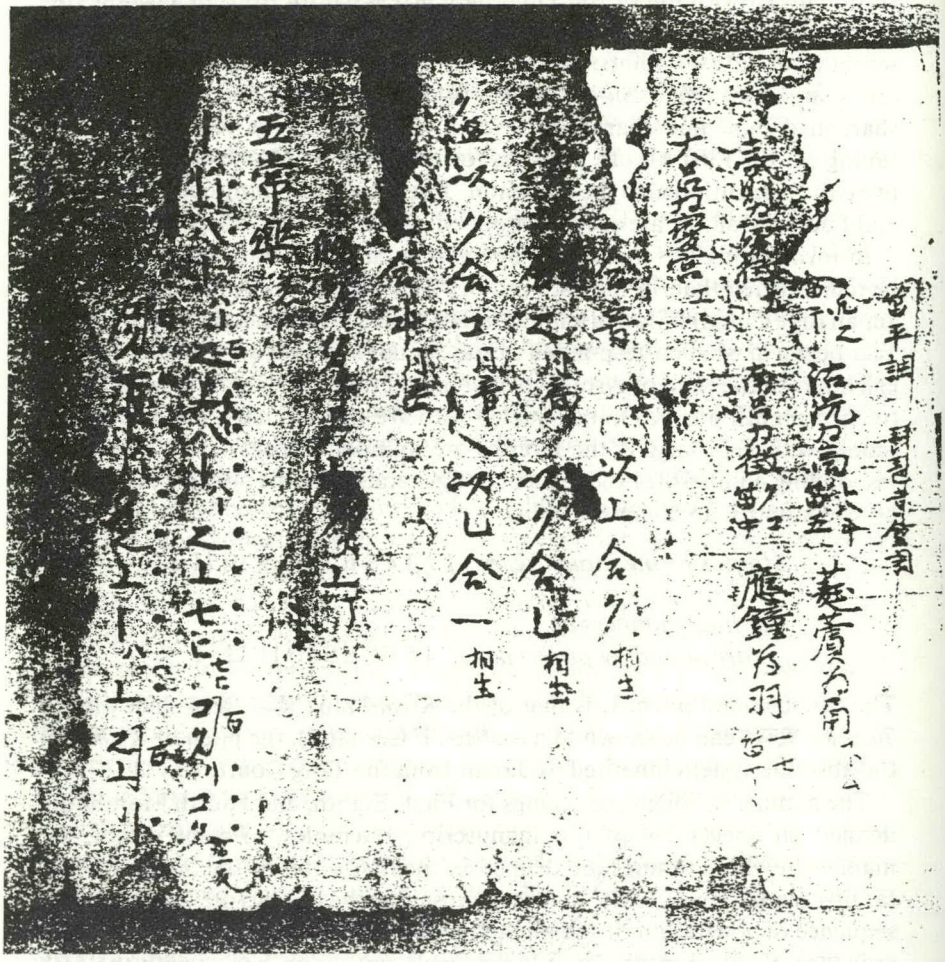
In formulating the correlation between pitch and month-number, it must be remembered that, in the 14th century (and indeed until 1 January, 1873), Japan (like China) followed a lunar rather than a solar annual cycle. The New Year began in what corresponded to late January, or February, in the Western calendar. In the time of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (late 14th century; see p. 202), the first month was not to be equated with Western January, but more commonly with February. If the months are numbered from 1 to 12, the corresponding numbers for the sequence of generation of the pitchpipes, for successive months, are as shown below:

Months of the Lunar Year:	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
Cardinal numbers of corresponding pitchpipe:	3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 1 2

The fundamental pitch, 1, is that of the *Kōshō*-pipe 黄鐘; and since pipe 3, *Taizoku* 太簇, can be shown to have been E (see later), the pitch of *Kōshō*, in the absolute system inherited by Japan from the Tang Court, was D.

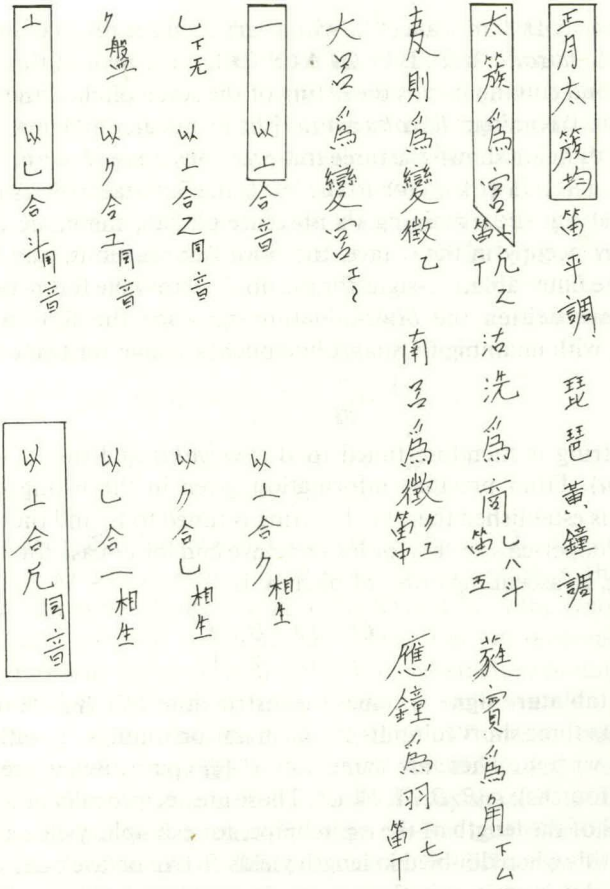
The manner in which the tunings for First, Eighth, and Fourth Months are defined on Sheets 2–4 of this manuscript, resembles, to some extent, the manner in which tunings are defined in the first scroll of the *Sango-yōroku* (as first realized by R.F.W.). In that manuscript, the tunings are ordered in the sequence of generation of the pitchpipes, and in the equivalent, non-ordinal sequence of the months. Thus Moronaga's exposition begins with the 11th month and the fundamental (*Kōshō*) = D. A fifth up from this note (taking 2/3rds of the length of the *Kōshō*-pipe) takes us to A, the eighth pitchpipe and the sixth month. A further fifth up (or fourth down, if the pitchpipes are to be generated within the compass of an octave) takes us to E, the third pitchpipe and the first month. Once more stepping up a fifth, takes us to B, the tenth pitchpipe and the eighth month, and so on.

The first of the three sheets in *biwa*-tablature has been damaged (Plate 2), and at some time repaired, in three places on the upper margin of the sheet. From Moronaga's tuning-tables in *maki* 1 of the *Sango-yōroku*, the missing portions can be restored, and it is certain that the first column of lexigraphs on the first sheet originally began: 'The *Taicou/Taizoku* Scale of the First Month' 正月太簇均. The table of tunings here differs from that in the *Sango-yōroku* in that, in addition to stating *absolute* pitches, the manuscript shows the corresponding fret-positions in *biwa*-tablature, as well as equivalent



2 Damaged right-hand end of first sheet with lute-tablature: tuning-instructions for First Month, transcribed on p. 199; followed by tuning-testing piece and 'The Five Constant Virtues: *Quick' Goshōraku no kyū* (p. 203). (Photograph by Professor Mabuchi Usaburō)

Kikutei-ke monjo, sheet 2, cols. 1–8 (transcription). (Note: certain specialized tablature-signs, reproduced here as they appear in the MS, are represented in the following discussion by similar signs from the Japanese syllabaries, as they are not available to the printer.)



pitches in flute-tablature. The transcription above reproduces the data for the first-month-tuning, restoring missing portions (boxed lexigraphs).

Following the restored heading: 正月太簇均, come two statements requiring explanation. First, 笛平調 'The flute [plays in] *Hyōjō*'. Already in the time of Hakuga (Minamoto no Hiromasa) in the 10th century, a single, standard flute, on which pieces in any mode could be played, had been adopted, replacing a set of flutes in different keys (Marett 1977: 9): the heading merely reminds the flute-player that the note-set of the fundamental octave, in descending order is: d''' $c\sharp'''$ b''' a'' g'' $f\sharp''$ e'' d''. Nevertheless, this instruction is only valid for the first piece *Goshōraku no kyū*; in the second piece, *g* must be sharpened; and in the third piece, *d* also is sharpened.

The second statement is: 琵琶黄鐘調 . This is not a statement of *mode*, but a statement (for the benefit of the *biwa*-player) of *tuning*. *Ōshiki-chō* is the tuning to be adopted in order to play pieces in *Hyōjō*, *Taishiki-chō*, and *Koma-Ichikotsu-chō*. On *biwa*, $g\natural$, $g\sharp$, and $d\natural$ and $d\sharp$, are all available in the *Ōshiki-chō* tuning.

The restored heading: 正月太簇均 'The *Taizoku*-scale of the First Month', identifies the set of absolute pitches about to be displayed as those of the

Chinese, basic, Lydian scale (均), with sharpened fourth, starting on the absolute pitch *Taizoku* 太簇 : E F♯ G♯ A♯ B C♯ D♯; the final of this set is E.

The second column begins the listing of the seven pitches, the first instruction (restored) reading: '*Taizoku* acts as [the first degree and final] *kyū*.' Below and to the right are shown the three fret-positions on the *biwa* at which E is to be found: 上 (*e*), 凡 (*E*), 乙 (*e*); to the left is the flute-tablature-sign テ (E). In turn are set out the remaining six absolute pitches, the name of the scalar degree they occupy in the octave, the *biwa*-fret-positions, and (in three instances) the flute-tablature-signs for the note. Across the following four short columns are written the *biwa*-tablature-signs for the four open strings: 上クし一 , with unambiguous, absolute pitches shown for two of the strings:

上　ク　し　一
盤　下无

The ク -string is therefore tuned to B (*banshiki*) and the し -string to F♯ (*shimo-mu*). From previous information given in the listing of the seven pitches, it is established that the 上 -string is tuned to E, and the 一 -string, to C♯. Using upper-case letters for lower octave and lower-case for upper octave, the tuning, in ascending order of pitches, is:

C♯　*F♯*　*B*　*e*
一　し　ク　上

Below the tablature-sign 一, comes the instruction: 以上合音 'Tune to 上 [*e*]', and the next three short columns establish unison tunings: 上 with 乙, ク with ユ, and し with 斗. These are 'same note' (同音) pairs. Below are shown consonances (fourths): *e*, *B*; *B*, *F♯*; *F♯*, *C♯*. These are 'reciprocally producing' pairs (相生); 2/3 of the length of the *e*-pitchpipe, for example, yields a pipe sounding *b*, and this when doubled in length yields *B*. (An octave pair, shown in the *Sango-yōroku*, is omitted in the manuscript and supplied here: 以上合凡同音 [*e*, *E*].)

Since the first two months for which tunings are defined in this manuscript – the First and Eighth Months – follow the standard sequence of tunings, beginning with the First Month, it might be supposed that the three sheets are a fragment of a complete set of tunings for all the months of the year; but this cannot have been so. Inspection of the scroll shows that the break, between sheets 2 and 3 of the tuning-instructions and pieces, occurs *before* the end of the notation of the piece *Senshūraku* 千秋樂. The transition from the Eighth to the Fourth Month (instead of from the Eighth to the Third Month) was therefore intentional; there never was a break in the continuity of the manuscript, and these three tunings cannot be a fragment of a larger original.

Yet again, as in the *Sango-yōroku*, each of the three sets of tuning-instructions is followed by a brief tuning-testing piece (even briefer than those named as *genawase* 絃合 in the *Fushimi-no-miya bon biwa-fu* 伏見宮本琵琶譜) in which only the final and the dominant in various octaves are sounded (ninth column from right of Plate 2). Although the lay-out of the tuning-instructions is not identical with that of the *Sango-yōroku*, an error in the latter, in the equations between fret-positions, is reproduced in this

manuscript in the definition of the tuning for the Eighth Month. The second string (descending order) is to be tuned to B (*banshiki*), and the rest of the tuning follows from this; but the instructions state: 以ク合几同音. The true relationship between notes produced at these fret-positions in this tuning is not unison (同音), however, but 'reciprocal production' (相生): ク *B*, 几 F♯. In the copy of the *Sango-yōroku* in *Kunaichō Shoryōbu*, a correction-label has been inserted to the right of this instruction, presumably posterior to the copying of 1328. The correction-label reads: し歟空性直之 'Is it not し? Kūshō emended it.' And indeed: 以し合几同音 is correct: し *F*♯, 几 *F*♯.

Without going further into the details of how the other tunings are to be established, these are, for the three months specified:

String number:		IV	III	II	I
Month	正月	*C*♯	*F*♯	*B*	*e*
	八月	*D*♯	*F*♯	*B*	*d*♯
	四月	*D*	*G*	*B*	*e*

In the transcriptions into staff-notation that follow (R.F.W.), the version of the tune in the *Kikutei-ke monjo* is set out on the top stave, with versions in other tunings from the *Sango-yōroku* (SGYR) and from the *Sango-chūroku* (SGCR) below. One must conclude that these latter are versions in tunings regarded by Fujiwara no Moronaga as the most satisfactory tunings, from the player's standpoint. Below each musical note of each version is written the number of the string in Roman numerals (I, II, III, IV) and the number of the fret-position in Arabic numerals (0, 1, 2, 3, 4) at which the note is produced. Each set of versions of a tune or tunes is preceded by the tuning-testing piece.

Comparison between the several versions reveals how differently fingered they are as a result of the use of different tunings. It will be seen that the calendrically correct tuning for the First Month 正月 secures that all three pieces in the Kikutei-manuscript end on the open first string: Io, in contrast to the other versions. In the case of the piece in the Eighth-Month tuning, *Senshūraku* 千秋樂, however, the open-string final is the second string (II○). In this instance, where the *Sango-chūroku* 三五中録 as well as the *Sango-yōroku* both have versions ending on B on the first open-string (I○), the greater calendrical appropriateness of the Kikutei-manuscript's Eighth-Month 八月 tuning is not immediately obvious. In the case of the piece *Butokuraku* (Fourth Month), however, SGYR offers no version that ends on the appropriate final G. The fact that this G is played as I2 indicates, however, that for calendrical correctness it was not essential that the final be taken on an open string.

Previous studies by the authors of this paper have made plain the tremendous labour of Fujiwara no Moronaga and his amanuenses in recasting much of the *Tōgaku*-repertory, in the preparation of newly written scores-in-tablature requiring a limited number of tunings only. As has been said, although he listed tunings for each of the months of the year in the first *maki* of *Sango-yōroku*, so that pieces could be played in keys such that they ended on the ritually correct final, the great bulk of the *Gagaku*-repertory – *Saibara*,

Tōgaku, *Komagaku* – is set out by him without reference even to the possibility of ritual transposition in accordance with the cycle of the months.

It is, therefore, astounding to find, rather more than two centuries after the time of Moronaga, precise instructions for tunings appropriate to three different months, as well as five pieces, all differently scored from their versions in Moronaga, all playable in keys such that the final of each piece is the ritually correct final for the month during which the piece is to be played. The fact that Sheets 2–4 of this manuscript exist, argues for a quite remarkable degree of conservatism in the musical ambience of the Northern Court, conservatism such that a conscious attempt was being made, in the instruction (of a Prince of the Blood, perhaps?) in performance on the *biwa*, to instil Ancient Chinese conceptions of Macrocosmic and Microcosmic Harmony, by the practice of ritual transposition.

It is certain that Chinese concern to secure concordance between the pitch of the finals of pieces performed, and the pitchpipe of the month, only applied to the music of Confucian and Ancestral Rites. There is no evidence that items of Entertainment Music of the Chinese Court were transposed, month by month, to secure congruence between final notes and the pitchpipe of the month. It is worth observing that the *Fushimi-no-miya bon biwa-fu* (Wolpert 1977: 123–30), which includes tuning-instructions for 27 of the 28 Tang mode-keys (four modes in each of seven keys), includes no hint of the practice of ritual transposition, or even of the choice of pieces with a given final, in relation to the pitchpipe of the month.

If, as seems likely, the two chapters on *Yayue/Gagaku* in the *Huiyao* of the Tang – first presented to the Throne in 801 – were an important determinant in fixing certain Japanese attitudes towards *Tōgaku*, and indeed towards music in general, it also seems likely that the discussion of the correlation between pitch and the cycle of the months, in the first of those chapters, was mistakenly held to apply to the popular repertory of Entertainment Music at the Tang Court. In fact, though two items of popular music are discussed at the beginning of this first chapter – and in particular the piece: *Gyokuju gotei-ka*, which survives in the manuscript-repertory of *Tōgaku* to this day – the Chinese text does not imply that ritual transposition was a practice to be applied to Entertainment Music. Sheets 2–4 of the Kikutei-manuscript demonstrate, however, that a conscious attempt to restore Universal Harmony, in the performance of *Gagaku*, was made during the reign of Go-Komatsu of the Northern Dynasty, while Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, that most illustrious patron of the arts, was *Shōgun*. Whether that attempt was purely theoretical, or had practical consequences, we do not know.

Acknowledgements

Measurements of the sheets composing the *Kikutei-monjo* were most kindly made for us by Professor Fujimoto and Professor Mabuchi. The authors wish to express their appreciation of the generosity of the Museum authorities in entrusting to them a first examination of the musical content of this

manuscript. They recall with particular pleasure the hospitality shown them on the occasion of their visit to the Heian Museum in 1980. L.E.R.P. is indebted to Mrs Cecilia Whitford and to Dr Nobuko Ishii for major help in negotiating the minefields of genealogy as set out by conflicting authorities. E.J.M. is indebted to the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung and R.F.W. to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

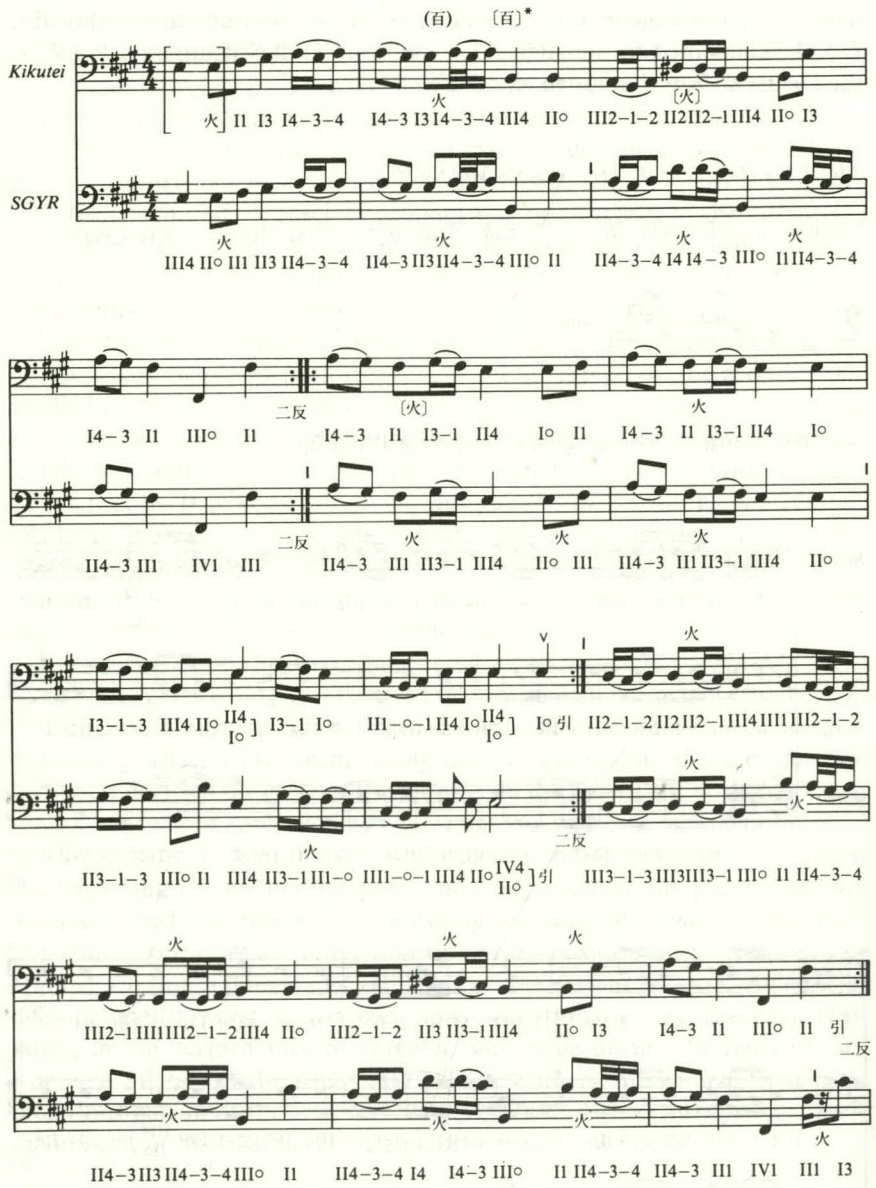
THREE PIECES FOR THE FIRST MONTH

'Tuning Piece' for 'The *Taicou/Taizoku* Scale of the First Month' 正月大簇均

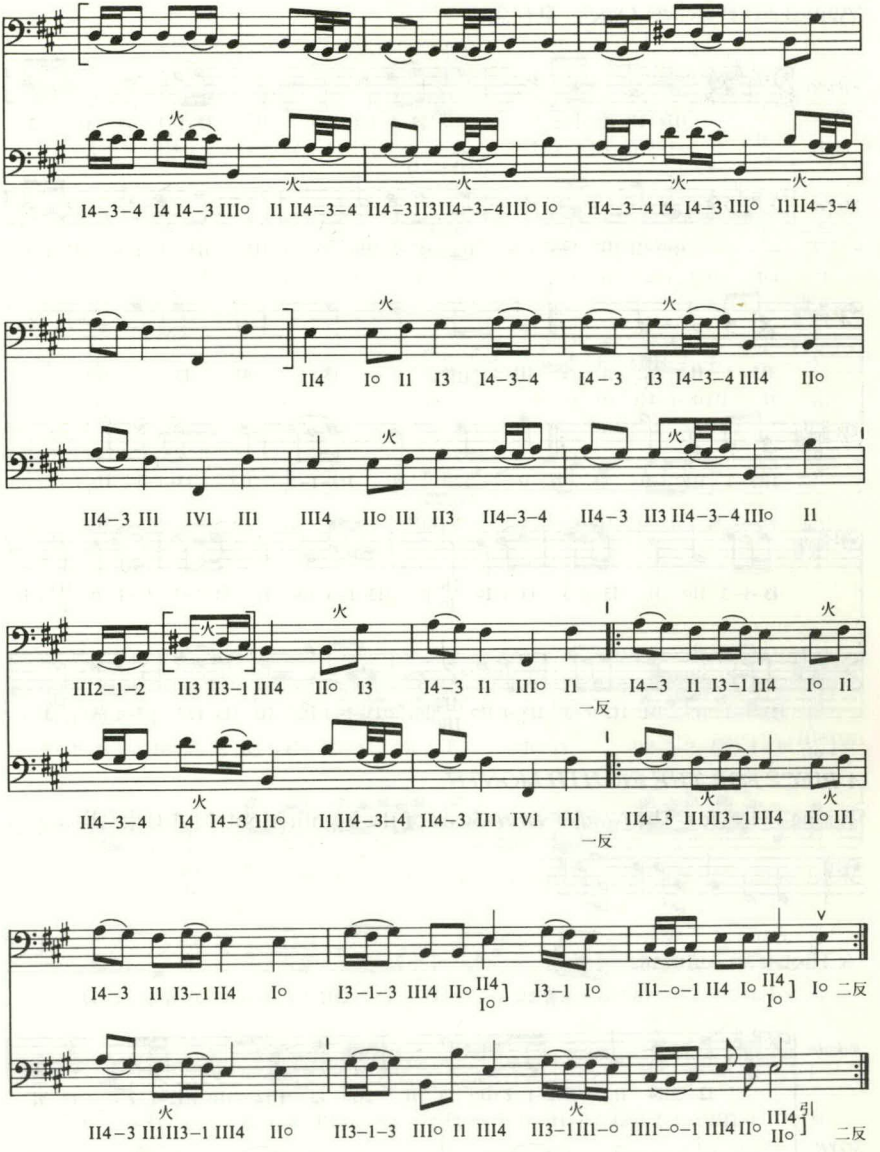
'The Five Constant Virtues: *Quick*' 五常樂 急 [Plate 2]

* SGCR, *maki* 12: 林鐘調*Rinshō-chō* (=*fue Ichikotsu-chō*). The transcription is at the pitch that results if the piece is played on a *ryūteki*; if played on a *Koma-bue*, however, the tablature yields the same pitches as the versions from SGYR and from the Kikutei-manuscript.

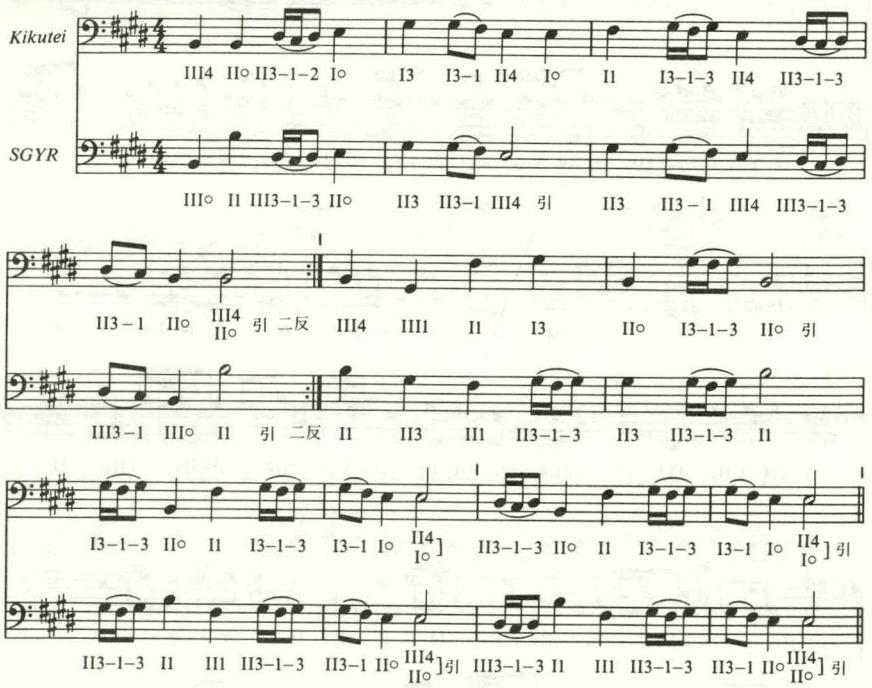
'Peace: *Quick*' 太平樂 急


(百) 〔百〕*
Kikutei
SGYR
火
〔火〕
I1 I3 I4−3−4 I4−3 I3 I4−3−4 III4 II○ III2−1−2 II2 II2−1 III4 II○ I3
III4 II○ III1 III3 II4−3−4 II4−3 II3 II4−3−4 III○ I1 II4−3−4 I4 I4−3 III○ I1 II4−3−4
二反
〔火〕
I4−3 I1 III○ I1 I4−3 I1 I3−1 II4 I○ I1 I4−3 I1 I3−1 II4 I○
II4−3 III IV1 III II4−3 III III3−1 III4 II○ III I4−3 III III3−1 III4 II○
I3−1−3 III4 II○ II4 I○] I3−1 I○ III−○−1 II4 I○ II4 I○] I○ 引 II2−1−2 II2 II2−1 III4 III1 III2−1−2
II3−1−3 III○ I1 III4 II3−1 III1−○ III1−○−1 III4 II○ IV4 II○] 引 III3−1−3 III3 III3−1 III○ I1 II4−3−4
III2−1 III1 III2−1−2 III4 II○ III2−1−2 II3 II3−1 III4 II○ I3 I4−3 I1 III○ I1 引
二反
II4−3 II3 II4−3−4 III○ I1 II4−3−4 I4 I4−3 III○ I1 II4−3−4 II4−3 III IV1 III I3

* Square brackets [ ] mark an addition, round brackets ( ) mark a sign ignored. Here it is impossible that the main *taiko*-stroke should fall on the second quarter-note of the bar.


I4−3−4 I4 I4−3 III○ II II4−3−4 II4−3 II3 II4−3−4 III○ I○ II4−3−4 I4 I4−3 III○ II II4−3−4
II4 I○ I1 I3 I4−3−4 I4−3 I3 I4−3−4 III4 II○
II4−3 II1 IV1 II1 III4 II○ II1 II3 II4−3−4 II4−3 II3 II4−3−4 III○ I1
III2−1−2 II3 II3−1 III4 II○ I3 I4−3 I1 III○ I1 I4−3 I1 I3−1 II4 I○ I1
一反
II4−3−4 I4 I4−3 III○ II II4−3−4 II4−3 II1 IV1 II1 II4−3 III II3−1 III4 II○ II1
一反
I4−3 I1 I3−1 II4 I○ I3−1−3 III4 II○ II4 I○ I3−1 I○ III−○−1 II4 I○ II4 I○ I○ 二反
II4−3 III II3−1 III4 II○ II3−1−3 III○ I1 III4 II3−1 III−○ III−○−1 III4 II○ III4 II○ 引
二反

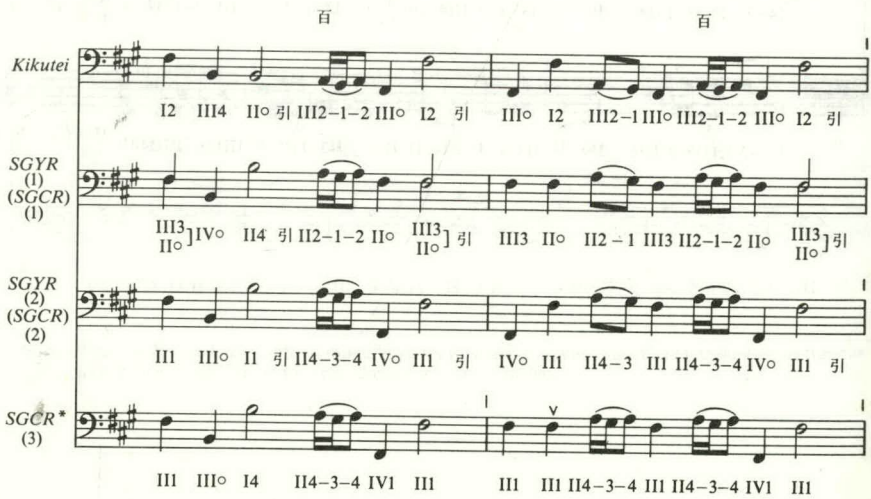
'August Benevolence: *Quick*' 皇仁急

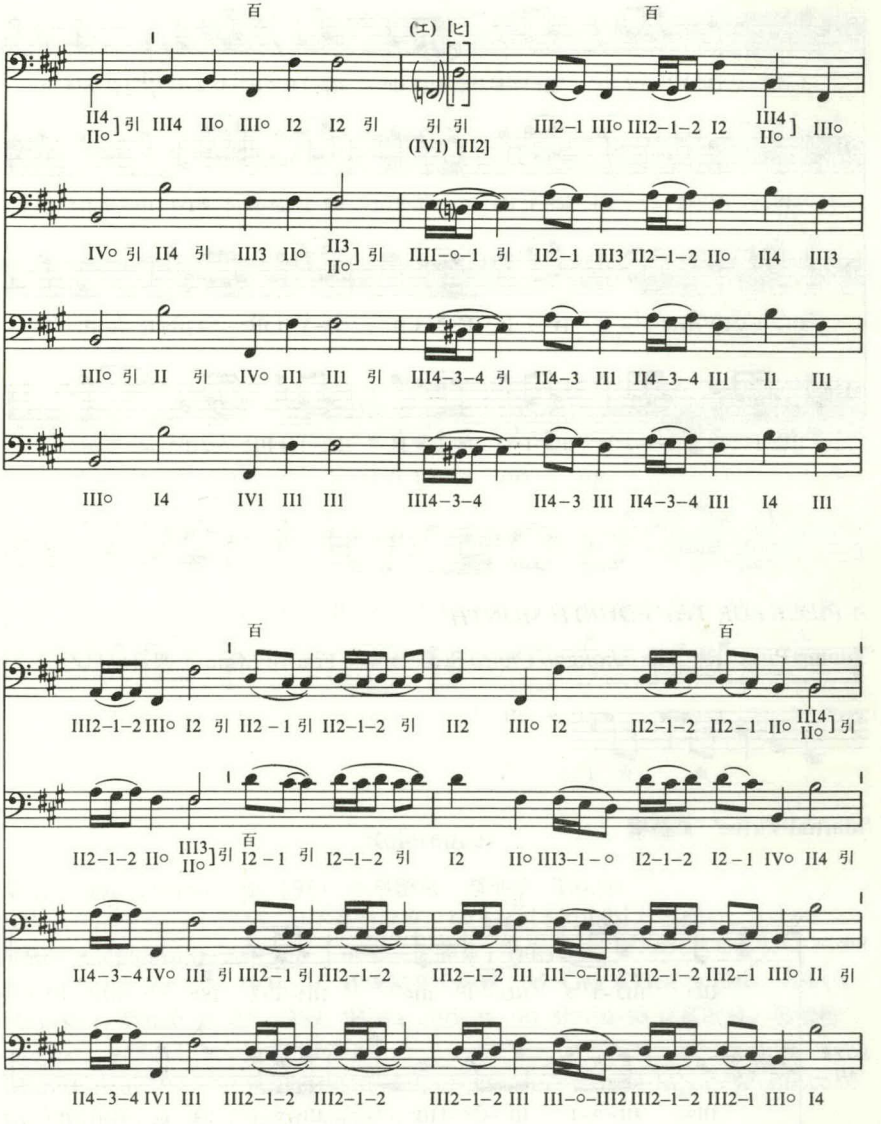


A PIECE FOR THE EIGHTH MONTH

'Tuning Piece' for 'The *Nanlü/Nanro* Scale of the Eighth Month' 八月南呂均

'A Thousand Autumns' 千秋樂




百
(ㄨ) [ㄣ]
百
II4 II○] 引 III4 II○ III○ I2 I2 引 引 引 III2–1 III○ III2–1–2 I2 III4 II○] III○
(IV1) [II2]
IV○ 引 II4 引 III3 II○ II3 II○] 引 III1–○–1 引 II2–1 III3 II2–1–2 II○ II4 III3
III○ 引 II 引 IV○ III1 III1 引 III4–3–4 引 II4–3 III1 II4–3–4 III1 I1 III1
III○ I4 IV1 III1 III1 III4–3–4 II4–3 III1 II4–3–4 III1 I4 III1
百
百
III2–1–2 III○ I2 引 II2 – 1 引 II2–1–2 引 II2 III○ I2 II2–1–2 II2–1 II○ III4 II○] 引
II2–1–2 II○ III3 II○] 引 百 I2 – 1 引 I2–1–2 引 I2 II○ III3–1 – ○ I2–1–2 I2 – 1 IV○ II4 引
II4–3–4 IV○ III 引 III2 – 1 引 III2–1–2 III2–1–2 III1 III1–○–III2 III2–1–2 III2–1 III○ I1 引
II4–3–4 IV1 III1 III2–1–2 III2–1–2 III2–1–2 III1 III1–○–III2 III2–1–2 III2–1 III○ I4

* SGCR, *maki* 12, *Kōsen-chō* 高仙調-tuning (see Hayashi 1969:270 and Wolpert 1977: 132). The nature of this tuning is made explicit in *Sango-chūroku* and is discussed in Markham and Wolpert (in prep.).

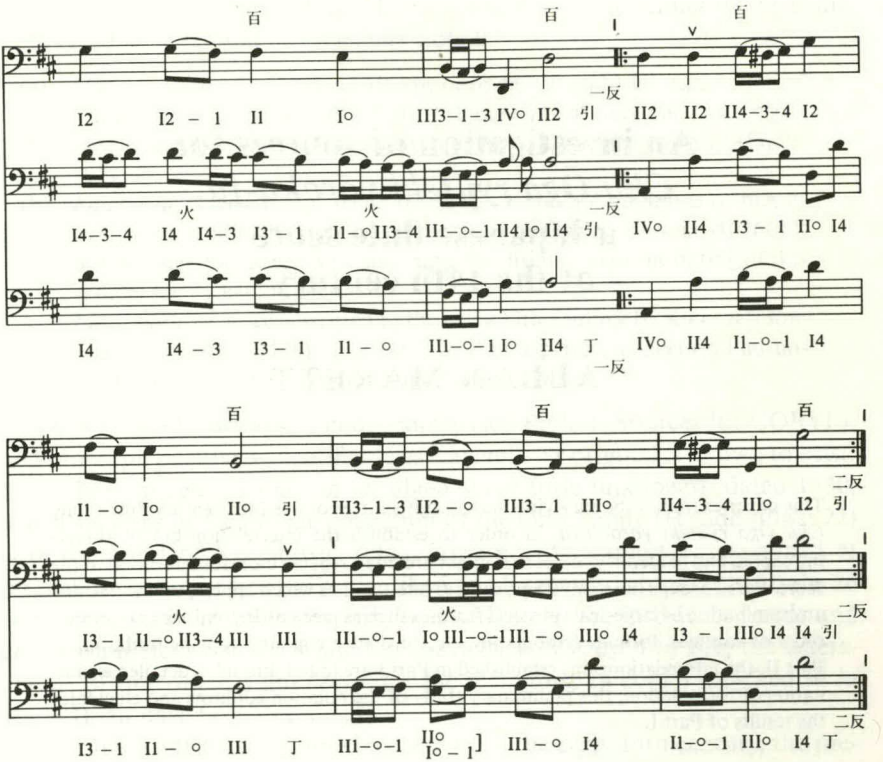
百
百
II2 I2 II2–1–2 II○ II2–1 III4 III2–1–2 II○ II2–1 III4 II2–1–2 II○ III4 II○]引 III4 II○
IV2 III3 IV2 II4 I2–1 II4 II2–1–2 II4 I2–1 II4 I2–1–2 IV○ II4 引 II4 I○
III2–1–2 III III2–1–2 II I4–3 II II4–3–4 II I4–3 II III2–1–2 III○ II 引 III○ II
III2–1–2 III III2–1–2 I4 III2–1 I4 II4–3–4 I4 III2–1 I4 III2–1–2 III○ I4

A PIECE FOR THE FOURTH MONTH

'Tuning Piece' for 'The *Zhonglü/Chūro* Scale of the Fourth Month' 四月中呂均

'Martial Virtue' 武德樂

百
百
Kikutei
III○ III3–1–3 III3 – 1 III○ III3–1–3 IV○ II2 引
SGYR (1)
III○ III1–○–1 III1 – ○ III○ I4 III1–○–1 II4 I○ II4 引
SGYR (2)
III○ III1–○–1 III1 – ○ III○ III1–○–1 I○ II4 丁



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